1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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619 be understood, however, that the present is a very rough-and-ready statement of the case; for there is far more blending and complexity than appears in a bare list of nine tribes. A fuller treatment of the classification of tribes will be given in Chapter X; in the meantime the principal of them are:

1. Binandele and Jeva Buje.
2. Tain-Daware.
3. Aiga.
4. Yega.
5. Sauaha.
6. Sangara.
7. Dirou.
8. Wasida.
9. Hunjara.

Their disposition may be seen on the map.

The native roughly classifies these tribes according to their environment. The River People are called *Umo-ke*, lit. 'water-language'; they comprise the Binandele of the Mambare and Gira rivers and the large branch of the same tribe called Jeva Buje, inhabiting the lower Kumusi. The coastal Tain-Daware and Yega are called *Eva-Embo*, 'Salt-water Men', and the inland tribes are collectively known as *Autembo*, 'Bushmen', or more often as *Perebo* (*Berepo*), a word which has the same general meaning, or more specifically stands for the 'little bush-pigs' that are captured wild in the forest. There are naturally some environmental differences between these large groups, but it appears that such differences are not essential. There seems to be no good ground 619 other than group-conceit for the opinion of an Aiga that the 186 Bush People were *momoseja*, attractive and 'pretty' (the same word would be applied to a brilliant croton leaf), while the River People were *kamoseja*, ugly and unattractive, with black skins like Kiwais, ringworm, and elephantiasis.

619 Apart from certain cultural differences which are prob- 184 ably the direct result of environment, as e.g. in methods of fishing and their appliances, there are others of greater 534 significance which are probably due to some contact influ- 536 ence. The most important of these consists in the religious and social ceremonies involving the use of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute. These objects are known in the southern part of the Division, but their use is discontinued with some abruptness when we reach the Aiga, the Binan-

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dele, and the Tain-Daware. They then reappear on the river Waria, to the north of the last-mentioned tribes. Their distribution excludes in the main that of the small dramas for which the Orokaiva are famous, these latter belonging especially to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware.[1] Thus bull-roarer and flute on the one hand, and drama on the other tend to be mutually exclusive. It is noteworthy that the miniature drum, *saunda*, is confined to those three tribes who practice the drama.

Another significant distribution may be mentioned, viz. that of the yam. This vegetable is grown over the whole of the plain, but far less commonly in the north than the south, though it is not, as far as I know, debarred by climatic causes from flourishing in any part. But the yam-house and the extensive cultivation of yams disappear north of Divina Kovari, so that their distribution seems to correspond in some degree with that of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute.

Save for these few distinctions between South and North, the exclusive presence of bull-roarer, flute, and yam in the one, and of the drama and the *saunda* in the other, I have not been able to see any really important distinctions between the various component tribes of the Orokaiva. It may be stated with some confidence that the groundwork of their customs and institutions is the same throughout.

It is on the assumption of general uniformity among the tribes that the present report claims to refer to the people as a whole. The tribe with which I am best acquainted is that of the Aiga, who seemed to offer the best opportunities for research because they are fairly central and as yet less contaminated by European influence than most of the others. Out of a total Orokaiva population of some 9,000, this tribe numbers approximately 1,300, who are scattered in nearly fifty villages on or between the Opi and Kumusi rivers. To avoid confusion it will be the rule of this report to use the Aiga dialectal form for native words.

[1] I am not ready to say that the drama never appears among the Southern tribes. At any rate I cannot speak with any certainty about the Hunjara.

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512 has made a catch of fish his wife, having cooked it in the
431 evening, will carry portions across to her neighbours; but for the most part the meal is prepared for the immediate family.

512 After dark there is conversation and the liveliness of the
521 village will continue. Any happening of the humdrum day will have passed from ear to ear, and one may now hear
518 occasional shouted comments, greeted with yells of laughter from a distant fireside. Some incident of slighted feelings during the day may lead to an angry outburst in the evening, when the victim pours forth his feelings in a molten stream of indignation, which may call forth fierce retorts, but is more likely to be heard in silence by the rest of the village. Sometimes an individual, either to air his own grievance or express his opinion in an inter-clan dispute, will parade back and forth among the houses, shaking his spear and denouncing his enemy. But happily, though swift to anger, the Orokaiva is content to allow it a verbal overflow, and very seldom comes to blows with his fellow villagers.

512 Often the menfolk of the village will be met in a cheerful
533 company to enliven—or some would say make hideous—the night with song. The singers assemble in the *oro* or men's house, drawn into a close circle about a fire or preferably a kerosene lamp. Three or four drums and a conch-
[534] shell are the instruments of music, the last in the hands of a smallish boy who, though thrust somewhat into the background, willingly supplies the wind for an instrument which is more exacting of endurance than of musical finesse. When everything is in readiness the drums begin to beat and some precentor strikes up on a high pitch, singing with spirit and not without a certain taste one or two bars of a melody to words that are for the most part meaningless. As he finishes, his song is caught up and repeated in a very full-throated manner by the chorus, accompanied by the drums and the well-timed but not always harmonious blasts of the shell trumpet. The leader sings again and the chorus follows, till, after many repetitions, they all pause from their exertions and refresh themselves with betel-nut. With frequent changes of tune and frequent pauses this singing may go one till late at night; indeed on occasions of festivity

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412 the well-known pump-drill (*arasi*), known, I believe, in all parts of the Division. It possesses no unique feature unless it be that the fly-wheel is composed of several layers of pottery fragments bored through the centre.

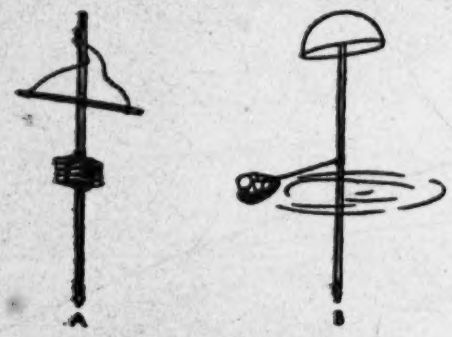

FIG. 21. Binandele Drills. A. *Arasi*; B. *Jigogora*.

[534]

FIG. 22. *Iso* or Drum.

A more primitive and far less effective mechanism (called *jigogora* or *paibona*) is still in occasional use. This has no fixed fly-wheel but instead a stone attached by a string to the shaft and made to fly round and round it. The top of the shaft rotates in a cup-shaped receptacle (e.g. a coco-nut shell), while the bottom with its point of quartz bears on the object which is being drilled. A slight movement of the hand which grasps the coco-nut shell keeps the stone flying in a circle. The point is usually of quartz (*hasi*) and sometimes, when procurable, of flint (*hiru*).

Musical Instruments

534 *Drums.* The Orokaiva are fond of music and naturally musical, though they possess no instruments of much poten-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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Boy Playing the Pipe, *Hiviro*

PLATE XX [facing p.86]

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534 tiality. Drums are of three distinct kinds. The largest is called *ino* (which also means 'dog'). It is used in the dance called *Java-kuru*, which is the original dance of the Orokaiva, so that the *ino* may be the most primitive of the three drums. It is sometimes as much as 3 feet 9 inches in length and has a very deep tone. The second is called *ebu*. It is of medium size about 2 feet in length, and is used in the *Si* and *Paruka* dances. The third (12 or 13 inches long) is called *Saunda* or *Tatau* (both words being perhaps onomatopoeic), and is used in the *Saunda* and *Puga* dances. This drum is confined to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware tribes, though in recent times its distribution is growing wider.

The drum is a hollow tube narrowing somewhat to a waist in the middle. The hollowing is effected by slowly burning out with the aid of a bamboo blow-pipe. The larger drums are usually fitted with a handle, *tei* ('foot'); the smaller ones are often without it. All have two raised rings at the waist called *pupunga*. *Pupunga* is the name of a kind of opossum or cuscus, from the skin of whose tail are made finger-rings. Hence by a somewhat fantastic explanation, which is not improbably correct, comes the name *pupunga* for the rings on the drum.

The closed end is called *boboru*, 'head'; the other is *abo*, or literally the fundamental orifice. A tympanum of lizard skin (obtained usually from the monitor lizard, *ange*) is stretched over and stuck on with starchy cooked taro, and is then bound on tightly with bark-cloth. It is tautened by applications of beeswax, which is said to be essential to a good tone. A lump of this material is stuck to the side of the drum, and little pellets are detached and applied to the lizard skin.

A good deal of care is taken to ensure a proper resonance before a concert begins. The *pupunga* bear incised decora- [53] tions (chevrons and zigzags) of mediocre quality.

Trumpets. The Orokaiva chorus is accompanied not only by drums but usually also by a conch shell, blown by one of the most juvenile of the performers. This instrument adds much to the volume but little to the harmony of the concert. It is commonly a large spiral shell with a hole, but an alterna-

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534 tive, somewhat rarely seen, is made of wood. Both are called *hui*. The principal use of the *hui* is for making sound-
202 signals, such as the alarm of war, the announcement of a death, or the approach of a party bearing a pig. For such purposes there are distinctive rhythms of long and short

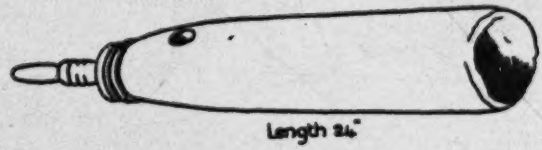

FIG. 23. *Hui* or Wooden Trumpet.

notes, though it cannot be said that they amount to any elaborate system.

An interesting extempore trumpet (*tayana*) is made from the stem of a large fern. The soft pith is hollowed out for the greater part of its length, the narrower end remaining closed. Near this closed end is placed the mouth-hole. The instrument, which is made in a few moments, is about 18 inches long with slightly trumpet-shaped mouth. It gives forth a surprisingly loud and resonant note.

Bamboo Pipes. A pipe called *biviro* is made from a long internode of light bamboo of say ¾ inch diameter. The mouth end is open, the other closed at the node, except for a small hole in the centre of the node itself, and two more, distant about 3 inches and 6 inches respectively from it. With his fingers on the stops and his mouth on the edge of the open end a player produces very sweet though very tootling music.

The 'sacred flutes' (*sepiri*, *inagu*, or *gauro*) used in the initiation ceremonies by the Southern Orokaiva, are tubes of bamboo some 4 or 5 feet in length and about 1½ inches in diameter.[1] They are closed by a node at one end. Six

[1] It may be that on the river Waria the small pipe (such as *biviro* above described) is to some extent an esoteric instrument. Describing the *Gaiu* (which is apparently the seclusion-house) and its contents, Mr. C. H. Karius, A.R.M., notes a set of two flutes or bamboo pipes. The full set comprises four pipes. Two are played inside the *Gaiu* and two are played outside. Never by any chance is the order reversed. The two sets of flutes or pipes are of different size and the method of playing them is different. The set used inside the *Gaiu* is the larger of the two and the flutes are

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inches or more from this closed end is a hole. The player holds the flute horizontally. He sets his lips to the edge of the hole and covers one ear with one of his hands. Sometimes he covers both ears and holds the flute in the crooks of his arms. Thus two men facing one another play with great intentness and evident enjoyment, each bowing and scraping a little to his partner in the duet (Plate XXIV*b*). 534

The very limited number of notes is doubled by the fact that the instruments[1] are differently pitched, and being played antiphonally they are together capable of producing little cadences or phrases that are pretty enough, although trifling and endlessly repeated. Such tunes have different names which they sometimes derive from their resemblance to bird-calls and responses. 533

Miscellaneous Instruments. These sacred flutes are of course esoteric instruments and seem to be invariably associated with the bull-roarer, *umbubu*. This familiar instrument is a thin slat of palm-wood with a hole drilled through one end. It is attached by means of a string to a long stick. Being swung round and round the slat revolves rapidly, producing a wide range of noises which may be described as whirring, booming, or howling. The Orokaiva example of this widely dispersed object is usually without ornament. 534

A third instrument—if so it may be called—which belongs to the initiation ceremonies is the *koni pamoni*. This is merely a hollow shell of the tree *Puga*, by blowing on the edge of which a thin expressive whistle is produced. Like the notes of the flutes and the booming of the bull-roarer, this is meant to represent the voice of the *siango* or *embahi*, spirits of the dead, who are crying out for food.

A jew's harp (*pingoru*) is made of bamboo as shown in the sketch. It is held in the mouth, being gripped by finger and thumb of the left hand, while the string is lightly jerked by the right hand. The vibrator is called *pingoru-bi*.

A rudimentary stringed instrument, also called *pingoru*, is made from a young sago midrib. A strip of the green bark

played by blowing through a hole in the side. This set is known as *Seregorupa*. The set used outside the *Gulu* is known as *Nawaruapa*. The pipes in this case are blown from the end (*Annual Report*, 1925–6, p. 90).

[1] [i.e. sacred flutes — Analyst.]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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534 is prised up but left attached at the points marked *x* (with or without binding). Small pegs are inserted at either end to keep the strip taut. It is held in the open mouth at *y* and played by lightly tapping the string.

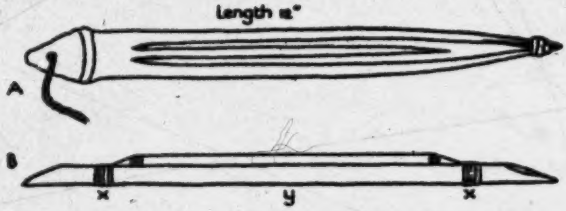

FIG. 24. A. *Pingoru* or Jew's Harp; B. *Pingoru* String Instrument.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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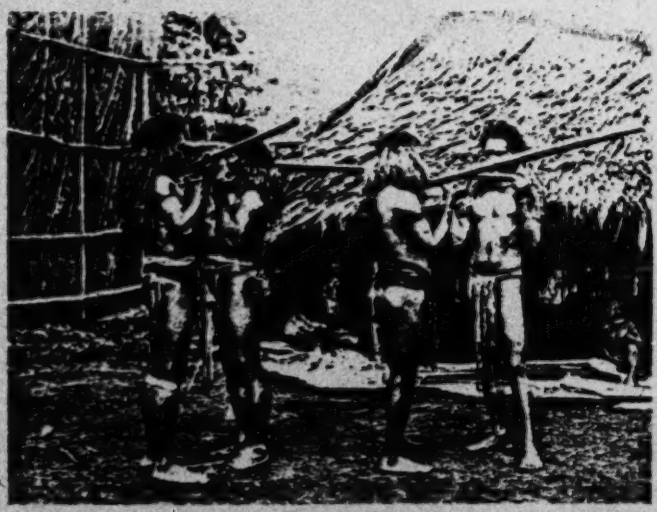
(*a*) Initiates secluded in the *Oro*



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(*b*) Initiates playing the *Sepirī* or Sacred Flute

PLATE XXIV [facing p. 182]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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881 prayers or efforts of the latters' elders, Chinnery and Beaver interpret the ceremonies as follows:

> 'As far as can be ascertained at present, the underlying idea of the ceremony seems to be to instil absolute and lasting terror into the candidates, and to make them think that their elders have beaten off the spirits; while in this receptive and chastened frame of mind, the lads, imbued with the idea of the power of the men, will pay attention to the instruction given. There appears to be an idea that the spirits of the dead are present, and that the initiated, i. e. the living, are keeping them away from the candidates.'

There is no doubt that the Orokaiva, whatever his age, has a very real dread of the real *embahi*. According to the above interpretation the initiated elders play upon this dread in the uninitiated juniors, and pose as the latters' saviours in order to reduce them to a receptive and obedient mood.

It seems to me that this interpretation may emphasize too strongly the pedagogical aspect of the initiation. We may reasonably doubt, I believe, whether the elders have any serious intention of reducing the initiates to a fit state of mind for subsequent instruction (though one does not deny that the painful experience of the youth may have considerable educative value in itself).

881 Furthermore, the interpretation does not, in my opinion,
534 lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bull-roarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear. The bull-roarer and the flute are esoteric objects in that they are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated, and it is always pretended that the notes and noises of these instruments, together with that of the hollow shell whistle called *koni pamoni*, are the voices of the *embahi*. Indeed, it might be said that the bull-roarer, the sacred flute, and the *koni pamoni*, together with the pretence that their notes represented the voices of the spirits, constituted the secrets of a secret society. The society is so comprehensive as to include the whole of the adult tribe, i.e. all those who have duly passed through the initiation cycle, and, like some generous societies who bestow a fellowship on receipt of a subscription, it is always ready to take any one into membership who can provide a pig.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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the full, and incidentally of giving the candidates a thorough ragging. This is always the privilege of those who are already 'in the know'. In this case their pretence is that they are on terms of familiarity with certain dangerous and terrifying creatures—the *embabi*—who utter weird cries. They accordingly imitate the *embabi* in their gestures and conduct, and their cries on the bull-roarer, flute, and *koni pamoni*. Before giving away their secret, therefore, the elders make the most of it, and rejoice to see the learners thoroughly frightened.

At the same time—whether this be the deliberate intention or no—it cannot be doubted that this ragging must have the indirect effect of enhancing the power of the raggers. It, so to speak, knocks the stuffing out of a possibly uppish youth, and makes him an amenable member of the adult society to which he is now introduced. By feeling to his sorrow the full affect of this adult society's power he will enter it in a humbler and more appreciative spirit; and we may be sure that when his turn comes to act the ragger he will bear his part with all the greater vim for having been roughly handled himself.

I have previously spoken of the curious intensity of native make-believe, and it is quite possible that not only the candidates but also the adult impersonators may give themselves up to the belief that *embabi* are actually present. But I cannot imagine that such serious belief long retains the upper hand, and I feel that the ceremony admits of two constructions, that it may be viewed (not only by ourselves, but by those who actually practise it) as alternatively solemn and frivolous, at one moment as if the initiates were being brought into the sacred danger of contact with the *embabi*, the next as if the initiated were having a great deal of fun at the expense of the frightened and bewildered candidates. It may be remembered that, although I have from time to time used the expression 'sacred flute' (a New Guinea term perpetuated by Haddon), yet as far as the Orokaiva are concerned no sacred character appears to belong intrinsically to the flute or the bull-roarer.

Seclusion and the Purificatory Rites. We may next consider

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(ii) The morning of the festival sees all the guests assembled. The performers are decorating themselves in the bush.

(iii) The ballet makes its appearance at some moment during the afternoon.

(iv) After dancing some ten minutes or more the ballet goes off and brings back the movable stage properties.

(v) While they resume the dance the actors, *buvivi* and *binei*, make their entry and proceed with the play. This being concluded, they dance off and disappear in the bush.

(vi) The ballet proceeds for a while with the main dance, and then breaks off into a series of minor 'nature' dances.

The performance of the dance and drama may be said to end here. The paraphernalia of the play, however, are brought together, and finally disposed of in a ceremonial manner, but this may be a matter of months afterwards. I shall now proceed to deal with the Orokaiva dance in detail, giving an account—confessedly slight—of its technique.

The Dance

The general name for 'dance' is *java* (Binandele *ya*). As far as I have ascertained there are five main kinds practised by the Orokaiva, viz. (1) *Kuru*, (2) *Paruka*, (3) *Arijo* or *Saunda*, (4) *Puga*, and (5) *Si*. Only the first two are accompanied by song, and only the last three are accompanied by the drama.[1] The first, *kuru*, is without any definite formation save that of a group of men and boys clustered about several drummers. They dance slowly in one direction and then back over the same ground, singing meanwhile. Their movements are quite unpretentious, and might be described as rhythmical shuffling. In all the other dances the performers are in pairs one behind the other, forming double file. Each kind has its appropriate drums and rhythm, the drums being carried by the dancers themselves.

[1] The drama is not an invariable accompaniment of *Arijo*, for I have seen a performance of this dance without it. I cannot speak with certainty of *Puga* or *Si*, though I am given to understand that they are always associated with a dramatic performance.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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branches for their guests to sit on. Meanwhile the guests file into the village, headed by some old warrior with his stone club upon his shoulder, and if they are well-bred Orokaiva all this stormy welcome will not provoke so much as a flicker of response in their faces. They sit down abruptly, forming a shallow arc, and once seated seem to relax their gravity as their hosts ply them with betel-nut.

Possibly a special platform or house, a sort of band-stand, has been erected for the occasion. This is called *ba oro*, i.e. 'Taro men's house', and is meant for the somewhat exclusive use of the accredited Taro men during the day, and for the chorus which is to continue throughout the night. The singers will crowd about a fire in the centre of the floor; if the night be cold, they will sit more comfortably in the ascending heat of fires on the ground beneath. One man after another leads, singing a stave or two with the truly musical voice of the Orokaiva, and as, or almost before, he finishes, the whole chorus bursts forth with the refrain. The drums beat the distinctive Taro rhythm, viz. two equal beats followed by a pause equivalent to one of them, or time of three with the third beat missed. This rhythm, I believe, is used throughout the whole Division by the Taro singers, and, as far as I know, exclusively. It is the same rhythm as that of the dance *baruga*, practised long previous to the advent of Taro, save that it is considerably slower. According to one informant, the Taro measure had been specified, like other details of the cult, in a dream. The drums are tuned with no little care, the lizard skin being tautened with lumps of beeswax until the correct tone is obtained. Shell trumpets are blown by one or two boys, whose enthusiasm is not unequal to the immense staying power which this instrument demands; but too often the shell trumpet, which admits of no tuning, shatters the harmony of the concert, and one can understand why a distracted missionary lit his Primus stove and placed it by his reading-lamp so that its roar might drown the discords of the *kasamba*.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

threatening that she would never again let him come to her breast. But as a rule the biting lesson seems to be learned easily, and mothers appear to have very little trouble with children biting them during the prolonged lactation.

The second conflict situation is the one induced by the adult men deliberately provoking fright in the small boy. The boy has to grow up to be fearless. Before the pacification of the Orokaiva and the surrounding tribes, this was part of the training of boys to be warriors. Ultimately, after being frightened by the men quite frequently over a couple of years or so, the boy is no longer afraid. But, in the meantime, his world is uncertain and conflicting. He learns to keep close to his father, so that he can rush to him if someone frightens him, and this association with his father continues long after he overcomes his fear of strange men making strange noises. It does not seem to occur to the child to run for comfort in these circumstances to his mother.

Initiation into Adulthood.

The initiatory rites are clearly divided into three major parts—the terror, the seclusion and the investiture. The initiation of a girl does not encompass all of these. At puberty she is secluded for a time, and then goes through a little purificatory ritual before ceremonially emerging from her seclusion. She does not have to endure the terror.

What I have termed "the terror" is what F. E. Williams refers to as the "initiation ceremony proper."[8] After being secluded for a short time, the candidates emerge and are shown the bullroarers and sacred flutes. Then the *embahi* (malevolent spirits) appear to them by moonlight and chase them around the village. The boys' parents cry out to the spirits to spare their children and not to devour them, but the *embahi* rush around crying out, "Kambo, kambo, kambo!" (Bite, bite, bite!). The boys are well aware that the *embahi* are a sham, and that they are really only fellow-villagers in disguise, but they are terrified none the less. Eventually, the *embahi* allow the boys' parents to overpower them and chase them from the village.

After they have undergone the "terror," the boys are secluded in the *oro* ("men's house"). ". . . During this period, they are instructed to be honest, obliging and diligent." They learn to play the flutes, and they plait armlets; otherwise they are inactive. Food is served to them by some old men. The boy's *nobo* (mother's brother), who has appeared as one of the *embahi* then returns to the village, divested of his frightening make-up, to lead the boy to the *oro* for his seclusion, and is responsible for feeding him during this period.

The final phase of the initiation is the boy's emergence from his seclusion. Like the girl on her emergence, he goes through a purificatory ritual. Then he is fitted with the *hekumbari* (feather headdresses), the wearing of which is a demonstration of his manhood. Again, it is the nobo (mother's brother) who presents him with the

[8] *Orokaiva Society*, p. 180, also pp. 181–191.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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Boninia informed me that the precautionary ritual is as follows:—"No weapons of war may be carried in gardens. Gardens are to receive the greatest attention, and to be well fenced and continually weeded. No food is to be wasted. That which cannot be eaten is to be given to the pigs, as also the garbage. Food is to be handled carefully, lest it should be bruised or broken. When cooked it is to be boiled in a vessel. The practice of burning food in the fire must be abandoned."

The song of the "Food-Spirit" is:—"*Ba taba Ai-adara!*" "*Ba porovi Ai-adara!*" *Ba* signifies taro, and *taba* and *porovi* varieties of the same. Each kind of taro is thus recited and followed by the song-words *Ai-adara* (in which words the worship lies). Following the song of the taro there comes the worship of the sugar-cane (*do*), "*Do beguma Ai-adara*," and of the banana (*bido*), "*Bido oira Ai-adara*," the varieties of both being mentioned. Other garden-foods follow in sequence.

In January 1915 Tongua of Duvira was passing a heap of taro lying in the sun outside the village of Buadi on the middle Gira River. The people of this village had not adopted the cult. Tongua fell into a fit, and on reviving, gathered the taro and placed it in shelter. At the same time he took the opportunity of disclosing the teachings of the "Food-Spirit," who he said was very angry with the person that had left the taro lying in the sun.

The practices I have been describing being undesirable were for a time abandoned. Each man who had been "visited" took a long swim in the Mamba River to shake off the "sickness." Boninia, however, informed me that it would not be possible for him to shake off the "sickness" so long as he remained on the Mamba, and that he had received permission to visit the Kumusi. My friend Mr Beaver and I visited the dancers in December, and requested them to perform the Kava-Keva, but they excused themselves on the ground that the "Spirit" had left them, and that the "sickness" was not a condition to be produced at will. As a general practice, the Kava-Keva no longer exists. But isolated cases have been noticed throughout the two divisions as far as Buna, and particularly in and around the headquarters of the Anglican Mission, which is near the mouth of the Mamba. The noted prophets of the various tribes and villages on the coast have adopted the "Spirit," and the Kava-Keva and Kekesi cults threaten to break out in strong force along the whole northern coast from the Gira to Buna at any time, the cults, however, maintaining their rivalry.